Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 USUN N 05445 300013Z

61
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
---------- 055718
O 292329Z OCT 75 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3398

S E C R E T USUN 5445

NODIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, SS, SP, MO, MA, AL, UN
SUBJ: SPANISH SAHARA

1. I SAW SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM, AS YOU ASKED, AND HE GAVE ME IN DETAIL THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY ON HIS EFFORTS RE SPANISH SAHARA. HE HAS DEVELOPED A FORMULA BASED ON THE WEST IRIAN PRECEDENT WHICH HAS BEGUN TO EMERGE BASED ON HIS DETAILED CONSULTATIONS WITH SPAIN, MOROCCO, MAURITANIA AND ALGERIA. ITS SUCCESS IS UNCERTAIN. YOU WILL SEE FROM THE DESCRIPTION OF THE DETAILED PROPOSAL THAT IT CONTAINS THREE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS: (A) AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY SPAIN THAT IT WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE SPANISH SAHARA BY 1 FEBRUARY 1976; (B) A MOROCCAN ANNOUNCEMENT ABANDONING THE MARCH; AND (C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TEMPORARY UN ADMINISTRATION WHOSE TASK WOULD BE TO SUPERVISE THE WITHDRAWAL AND WORK OUT WAYS TO CONSULT THE PEOPLE OF SPANISH SAHARA.

2. WALDHEIM SAYS HE HAS THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH SPAIN AND ALGERIA, AND HE IS AWAITING THE REPLY OF MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA WHICH HE EXPECTS THIS EVENING. HE BELIEVES THAT MOROCCO'S REACTION WILL BE INFLUENCED BY TWO CONSIDERATIONS: WHETHER HASSAN HAS CONCLUDED THAT IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO GET A STRICTLY BILATERAL DEAL WITH SPAIN, WHICH HASSAN PREFERS; AND WHETHER SOME FORMULA REGARDING CONSULTING THE PEOPLE CAN DEVELOP WHICH THE KING CAN ACCEPT. MOROCCO'S
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 05445 300013Z

INITIAL REACTION WAS CAUTIOUS. IF LARAKI FROM HIS TALKS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

WITH THE SPANIARDS YESTERDAY CONCLUDES NO BILATERAL DEAL
IS POSSIBLE, WALEHEIM BELIEVES HASSAN WILL BE TEMPTED BY HIS
APPROACH. I URGED THAT INTENSIFIED EFFORTS BE CONTINUED
SINCE THE DATE OF THE MARCH WAS GETTING CLOSER.

3. AT PRESENT WALDHEIM HAS A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, A
FRENCHMAN NAMED ANDRE LEWIN, WHO IS SHUTTLING BETWEEN THE
PARTIES TRYING TO FIRM UP A FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO ALL
CONCERNED. ONE ELEMENT OF FLEXIBILITY WAS CORTINA'S
SUGGESTION THAT THE SPANISH SAHARAN PEOPLE BE REPRESENTED
IN THE UN ADMINISTRATION FOR THE TEMPORARY PERIOD INVOLVED.
WALDHEIM HAD IN MIND THAT PERHAPS 6 TO 12 MEMBERS OF THE
SPANISH SAHARAN ASSEMBLY COULD BE INCLUDED.

4. IN CONNECTION WITH ALL OF THE ABOVE, HE DESCRIBED,
AS HE DID WITH YOU, THE HIGHLY EMOTIONAL STATE OF BOUMEDIENE
WHO IS STRONGLY AGAINST A BILATERAL DEAL BETWEEN SPAIN
AND MOROCCO. BOUMEDIENE ASKED WALDHEIM TO CONVEY A DIRECT
MESSAGE TO YOU THAT YOY SHOULD INTERVENE WITH HASSAN
PROMPTLY AND TELL HIM TO CALL OFF THE MARCH. WALDHEIM SAID
THAT BOUMEDIENE USED STRONG LANGUAGE. HE QUOTES BOUMEDIENE
AS SAYING THAT HASSAN IS PLAYING WITH FIRE AND THAT THE MARCH
MUST BE STOPPED SINCE ALGERIA CANNOT TOLERATE IT. ACCORDING
TO WALDHEIM BOUMEDIENE ALSO ADDED OTHERWISE THERE WILL BE
A REACTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS WELL. WALDHEIM EXPRESSED
HOPE THAT YOU WOULD BE ABLE TO SEND SOME KIND OF A MESSAGE TO
BOUMEDIENE WHICH WOULD CONFIRM THAT BOUMEDIENE'S CONCERNS
HAD BEEN CONVEYED TO YOU AND THAT WE WERE TAKING THEM INTO
ACCOUNT. WHILE WE CANNOT BE RESPONSIVE TO BOUMEDIENE IN
WAYS HE WOULD CONSIDER ADEQUATE, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT
THAT YOU SEND HIM A MESSAGE IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN
YOUR CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH HIM. I HAVE DISCUSSED
WITH ATHERTON THE CONTENTS OF SUCH A MESSAGE, AND HE WILL
BE DRAFTING SOMETHING FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

5. FOLLOWING ARE THE DETAILS OF THE WALDHEIM PROPOSAL.
"SUGGESTIONS FOR COMPROMISE EMERGING FROM THE CONSULTATIONS
WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER OF SPAIN
"1. SPAIN WOULD UNILATERALLY ANNOUNCE THA IT WOULD WITHDRAW
FROM THE TERRITORY BY A SPECIFIED DATE (THE DATE MENTIONED
SECRET

SECRET

WAS 1 FEBRUARY 1976). IT WOULD REQUEST THE UNITED NATIONS TO
ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DECOLONIZATION OF THE WESTERN
SAHARA AS OF THAT DATE AND WOULD DECLARE THAT, PENDING
ITS WITHDRAWAL, IT WOULD TAKE NO ACTION TO CHANGE THE SITUATION
IN THE TERRITORY.

"2. IN VIEW OF SPAIN'S UNDERTAKING TO WITHDRAW FROM THE
TERRITORY, MOROCCO WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT IT HAD DECIDED TO

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

ABANDON THE MARCH. MOROCCO WOULD ALSO UNDERTAKE NOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION UNTIL THE QUESTION HAD BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

"3. BOTH MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA HAVE CITED PRINCIPLE VI OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1541 (XV) WHICH PROVIDES THAT ONE OF THE WAYS WHEREBY A NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY CAN BE SAID TO HAVE REACHED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IS BY INTEGRATION WITH AN INDEPENDENT STATE. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO PRINCIPLE IX OF THAT RESOLUTION, SUCH INTEGRATION SHOULD COME ABOUT AS THE RESULT OF THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLE, THEIR WISHES HAVING BEEN EXPRESSED THROUGH INFORMED AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

"4. IF THE PARTIES AGREE, THE UNITED NATIONS COULD SET UP A TEMPORARY ADMINISTRATION IN THE WESTERN SAHARA WITH THE FOLLOWING FUNCTIONS:

"(A) SUPERVISE AND ASSIST THE WITHDRAWAL OF SPAIN;
"(B) TAKE OVER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY;
"(C) ARRANGE FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES;
"(D) NEGOTIATE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR A CONSULTATION OF THE PEOPLE, INCLUDING NOTABLY: DETERMINATION OF THE METHOD OF CONSULTATION; DETERMINATION OF THE QUESTIONS TO BE VOTED UPON; THE IDENTIFICATION OF SAHARANS BELONGING TO THE TERRITORY.
"(E) ESTABLISH CONDITIONS OF CALM AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION CONDUCIVE TO A FREE AND INFORMED EXPRESSION OF THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE;

"5. THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN WOULD BE PREPARED TO COOPERATE FULLY IN SUCH A SOLUTION."
MOYNIHAN

SECRET

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PROGRESS REPORTS, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS, INVASIONS, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975USUNN05445
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840176-0345
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751012/aaaaaknp.tel
Line Count: 146
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 JUL 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <27 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPANISH SAHARA
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, PBOR, AL, SS, SP, MO, MA, UN, (WALDHEIM, KURT), (LEWIN, ANDRE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006